

Message Text

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TO USMISSION NATO

INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 040289

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE, UR

SUBJECT: CSCE: EARLY CONTRIBUTION TO NATO REPORT

-- ON CSCE IMPLEMENTATION

REF: STATE 36804

1. AS AN EARLY CONTRIBUTION TO IS DRAFTING OF SPRING
REPORT ON CSCE IMPLEMENTATION, YOU MAY CIRCULATE THE
FOLLOWING INR STUDY OF SOVIET IMPLEMENTATION TO DATE TO
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POLADS. YOU SHOULD ALSO CALL ATTENTION TO THE REPORT
TRANSMITTED IN REFTEL AS BEING OF POSSIBLE USE TO IS
IN PREPARING SPRING CSCE REPORT. YOU SHOULD INDICATE THAT
US WILL BE MAKING FURTHER CONTRIBUTIONS AT A LATER DATE.

2. BEGIN TEXT:

-- CSCE AND DETENTE WILL DOUBTLESS BE THE WATCHWORDS OF THE FOREIGN POLICY SECTION OF BREZHNEV'S REPORT TO THE XXV CPSU CONGRESS, OPENING IN MOSCOW ON FEBRUARY 24. IN PART TO GET THEIR CSCE HOUSE IN ORDER BEFORE THE CONGRESS, THE SOVIETS SINCE MID-DECEMBER HAVE EMBARKED ON A CONCERTED PROGRAM TO COUNTER THE IMAGE OF NON-COMPLIANCE WITH CSCE THAT THEY HAD BEGUN TO ACQUIRE AFTER THE HELSINKI SUMMIT.

3. IN THE IMMEDIATE POST-HELSINKI PERIOD MOSCOW GAVE EVERY SIGN OF BEING TAKEN ABACK BY THE SPEED AND THRUST OF WESTERN CRITICISM OF SOVIET FAILURE TO IMPLEMENT THE FINAL ACT. FOR EXAMPLE, SOVIET SPOKESMEN, BEGINNING WITH USA INSTITUTE DIRECTOR ARBATOV ON SEPTEMBER 3, CHARGED THAT WESTERN CALLS FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF BASKET III (HUMAN CONTACTS AND INFORMATION) AMOUNTED TO "MEDDLING IN SOVIET AFFAIRS."

4. MORE RECENTLY, HOWEVER, THE SOVIETS HAVE GONE ON THE OFFENSIVE AND HAVE INITIATED A SERIES OF MEASURES THAT THEY HOPE WILL PUT THEM ON RECORD AS COMPLYING WITH THE CSCE PROVISIONS ON CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES (CBM'S) AND HUMAN CONTACTS AND INFORMATION. AT THE SAME TIME, THEY HAVE LAUNCHED A COUNTEROFFENSIVE AGAINST ALLEGED WESTERN CSCE SHORTCOMINGS.

AUTUMN 1975: A HOLDING ACTION

5. SOVIET EMIGRATION POLICY IS A PROBLEM WITH BOTH INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL DIMENSIONS (WITNESS THE JACKSON AMENDMENT) AND THUS IS NOT EASILY CATEGORIZED AS A STRICTLY CSCE/FOREIGN POLICY MATTER. FURTHERMORE, FOR THE PAST SEVERAL YEARS SOVIET AUTHORITIES HAVE BEEN ALLOWING A GROWING NUMBER OF PEOPLE TO EMIGRATE FROM THE USSR. THE EXAMPLES CITED BELOW THEREFORE DO NOT REPRESENT A SHARP BREAK WITH PAST POLICY; BUT IT SEEMS CONFIDENTIAL

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SAFE TO ASSUME THAT WESTERN CRITICISM AFTER HELSINKI PRODDERD THE SOVIETS INTO BEING MORE FORTHCOMING AND EXPEDITIOUS THAN THEY OTHERWISE MIGHT HAVE BEEN. SPECIFIC SOVIET ACTION TAKEN DURING THE MONTHS IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING HELSINKI INCLUDE:

- --THE DECISION TO PERMIT THE MARRIAGE, ON SEPTEMBER
- 13, OF CHESS CHAMPION BORIS SPASSKY AND A FRENCH
- EMPLOYEE OF THE FRENCH EMBASSY IN MOSCOW;

- --GRANTING AN EXIT VISA, IN MID-OCTOBER, THAT
- PERMITTED A SOVIET CITIZEN TO MARRY AN AUSTRIAN
- CITIZEN IN AUSTRIA (AUSTRIAN CHANCELLOR KREISKY

-- HAD INTERVENED PERSONALLY TO EXPEDITE THE
-- RESOLUTION OF THIS MATTER);

-- --A NUMBER OF CASES IN WHICH SOVIET CITIZENS WERE
-- ALLOWED TO BE REUNIFIED WITH THEIR FAMILIES IN
-- THE WEST.

6. DURING THIS PERIOD THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT ALSO
REACHED AN AGREEMENT WITH THE US, EFFECTIVE OCTOBER 1,
TO INSTITUTE MULTIPLE ENTRY/EXIT VISAS FOR JOURNALISTS.
SIMILAR BILATERAL AGREEMENTS HAVE SINCE BEEN REACHED
WITH FRANCE, ITALY, SWEDEN, THE FRG, AND FINLAND.

7. THESE MEASURES TAKEN DURING THE AUTUMN OF 1975,
HOWEVER, APPEAR TO BE IN THE NATURE OF HOLDING ACTIONS,
WHILE SOVIET POLICYMAKERS DECIDED HOW BEST TO COPE WITH
BASKET III AND CBM'S OVER THE LONG HAUL. THE DECISION
TO BEGIN A PLANNED, STEP-BY-STEP PROGRAM OF CSCE
"IMPLEMENTATION" PROBABLY WAS MADE IN DECEMBER. AT
THAT TIME THE SOVIETS REPORTEDLY SET UP A CSCE TASK FORCE
HEADED BY DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER AND FORMER CSCE
NEGOTIATOR KOVALEV. AS OF EARLY JANUARY, HOWEVER, IT
DID NOT APPEAR THAT ALL OF THE DETAILS OF THIS PROGRAM
HAD BEEN FULLY WORKED OUT.

THE NEW POLICY REVEALED

8. AT THE TURN OF THE YEAR THE SOVIETS REVEALED THEIR
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NEW PROGRAM AIMED AT CONVEYING THE IMPRESSION OF TOTAL
COMPLIANCE WITH CSCE:

-- --IN A DECEMBER 31 "NON-PAPER" TO THE US AND OTHER
-- WESTERN EMBASSIES, THE FOREIGN MINISTRY
-- ANNOUNCED ITS INTENTION TO EASE TRAVEL RESTRICTIONS
-- ON FOREIGN JOURNALISTS. THESE NEW REGULATIONS,
-- WHICH ARE DUE TO GO INTO EFFECT ON MARCH 1, WILL
-- BRING THE RULES FOR JOURNALIST TRAVEL WITHIN THE
-- USSR APPROXIMATELY INTO LINE WITH THOSE FOR
-- FOREIGN DIPLOMATS, WHICH, ON PAPER, ARE RELATIVELY
-- OPEN. AS IS ALSO THE CASE WITH MULTIPLE ENTRY/EXIT
-- VISAS, THIS LIBERALIZED TRAVEL POLICY WILL BE
-- PREDICATED ON RECIPROCAL TREATMENT FOR SOVIET
-- PERSONNEL IN OTHER COUNTRIES, NEGOTIATED
-- BILATERALLY.

-- --AT A NEW YEAR'S EVE RECEPTION AT THE US EMBASSY, A
-- FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIAL LET IT BE KNOWN THAT THE
-- GAMUT OF SOVIET TRAVEL REGULATIONS AND THE
-- CLOSED-AREA RESTRICTIONS THEMSELVES WERE UNDER
-- "ACTIVE REVIEW," AND THAT THE US COULD "SOON"

- EXPECT FURTHER INFORMATION ON THEIR MODIFICATION
- IN COMPLIANCE WITH THE CSCE FINAL ACT.

A WEEK LATER A SOVIET PROTOCOL OFFICER DROPPED A SIMILAR HINT TO AN ITALIAN DIPLOMAT.

THE NEW POLICY IN ACTION

9. SINCE THE FIRST OF THE YEAR THE SOVIETS HAVE FORGED AHEAD AND ENACTED A SERIES OF MEASURES IN BOTH THE CBM AND BASKET III AREAS.

10. EMIGRATION. THE SOVIET AUTHORITIES HAVE TAKEN STEPS THAT OSTENSIBLY SHOULD MAKE IT SOMEWHAT EASIER FOR SOVIET CITIZENS TO TRAVEL ABROAD AND, IN A RELATED VEIN, HAVE ALLOWED SEVERAL LEADING DISSIDENTS TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY.

- --ON JANUARY 1 THE PRICE OF EXTERNAL PASSPORTS
- CONFIDENTIAL

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- DROPPED FROM 361 RUBLES (480 DOLLARS) TO 261
- RUBLES (347 DOLLARS).

- --THE SOVIET OFFICE OF VISAS AND REGISTRATION (OVIR)
- HAS SHOWN A GREATER WILLINGNESS TO CHANGE THE
- COUNTRY OF DESTINATION STAMPED IN EXTERNAL PASS-
- PORTS, THEREBY EASING ONE PROBLEM FOR PROSPECTIVE
- EMIGRANTS.

- --THE EMIGRATION APPLICATION PROCEDURE REPORTEDLY
- HAS BEEN SIMPLIFIED, WITH THE THREE ONEROUS
- "CHARACTER" REFERENCES (FROM THE EMPLOYMENT
- SUPERVISOR AND THE LOCAL TRADE UNION AND PARTY
- CHIEFS) NO LONGER REQUIRED.

- --IT HAS ALSO REPORTEDLY BEEN SPECIFIED THAT VISA
- APPLICATIONS WILL NOW BE GRANTED OR DENIED AT THE
- LOCAL LEVEL, OSTENSIBLY SPEEDING UP THE PROCESS.

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- --IN EARLY JANUARY DISSIDENT UKRAINIAN MATHEMATICIAN
- LEONID PLYUSHCH, AFTER BEING RELEASED FROM 2 1/2
- YEARS' CONFINEMENT IN A MENTAL HOSPITAL,
- RECEIVED PERMISSION TO EMIGRATE TO THE WEST WITH
- HIS WIFE AND CHILDREN. LATER IN THE MONTH
- IT WAS REPORTED THAT JEWISH ACTIVIST ALEKSANDR
- LUNTS AND SCULPTOR ERNST NEIZVESTNY WOULD ALSO
- BE ALLOWED TO EMIGRATE.

11. CBM'S. ON JANUARY 4 THE SOVIETS STEPPED INTO THE

CBM ARENA BY NOTIFYING OTHER CSCE SIGNATORIES OF A MILITARY MANEUVER INVOLVING "ABOUT 25,000 MEN," TO BE HELD IN THE CAUCASUS JANUARY 25-FEBRUARY 6. IN ISSUING THE NOTIFICATION EXACTLY 21 DAYS BEFORE THE START OF THE EXERCISE AND IN INVITING FIVE CSCE SIGNATORIES (GREECE, TURKEY, ROMANIA, BULGARIA, YUGOSLAVIA) TO SEND OBSERVERS, MOSCOW COMPLIED WITH THE RELEVANT PROVISIONS OF THE FINAL ACT.

12. CIRCULATION OF INFORMATION. ON JANUARY 21 THE CONFIDENTIAL

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SOVIET GOVERNMENT ANNOUNCED THAT A LARGE VARIETY OF "NEWSPAPERS FROM CAPITALIST COUNTRIES"--INCLUDING THE NEW YORK TIMES AND THE WASHINGTON POST--WOULD SOON BE AVAILABLE FOR SALE TO THE SOVIET PUBLIC. (A SMALL NUMBER OF WESTERN NON-COMMUNIST PAPERS REPORTEDLY HAVE BEEN INTERMITTENTLY AVAILABLE IN MOSCOW ON AN UNDER-THE-COUNTER BASIS.)

13. A BASKET II INITIATIVE: AN ALL-EUROPEAN CONFERENCE. IN AN AREA LESS FRAUGHT WITH IDEOLOGICAL PITFALLS THAN BASKET III AND THUS MORE TO THE SOVIETS' LIKING, MOSCOW HAS ALSO BEGUN TO PUSH THE IDEA OF ALL-EUROPEAN TALKS ON THE ENVIRONMENT, TRANSPORTATION, AND ENERGY. BREZHNEV FIRST BROACHED THIS LATTER TOPIC IN A SPEECH AT THE POLISH COMMUNIST PARTY CONGRESS IN WARSAW ON DECEMBER 8. SUBSEQUENTLY, IT FOUND ITS WAY INTO THE COMMUNIQUE OF SOME RECENT VISITS, AND IT IS BEING MORE FREQUENTLY MENTIONED IN MAJOR PRESS ARTICLES--E.G., YURIY ZHUKOV IN PRAVDA ON JANUARY 6. (MOSCOW THUS FAR, HOWEVER, HAS ADVANCED ONLY GENERAL PROPOSALS; AND THE FINNS, FOR ONE, HAVE THE IMPRESSION THAT THE SOVIETS HAVE NOT YET CLARIFIED THE DETAILS EVEN IN THEIR OWN MINDS.)

CONCLUSION

14. WESTERN OBSERVERS HAVE CRITICIZED THESE RECENT INITIATIVES, ESPECIALLY IN THE EMIGRATION AREA, AS REFLECTING ONLY TOKEN AND COSMETIC CHANGES IN SOVIET POLICY. THE FACT REMAINS, HOWEVER, THAT MOSCOW NOW SEEMS INTENT ON ESTABLISHING AT LEAST A PUBLIC RECORD OF CSCE COMPLIANCE, HOWEVER MINOR.

15. BY PURSUING A POLICY OF SMALL AND SELECTIVE STEPS IN THE GENERAL AREA OF CBM'S AND HUMAN CONTACTS/INFORMATION, THE SOVIETS EVIDENTLY HOPE TO BUILD A PLAUSIBLE CASE FOR COMPLIANCE IN BASKET III, THOUGH IT IS ABUNDANTLY EVIDENT THAT THEY REMAIN DEEPLY SUSPICIOUS OF ITS BROADER RAMIFICATIONS.

16. NEVERTHELESS, THE SOVIETS EVIDENTLY BELIEVE THAT

THESE ALTERATIONS IN POLICY WILL PLACE THEM IN A BETTER
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POSITION:

-- --TO COUNTER WESTERN CHARGES OF NONCOMPLIANCE;

-- --TO CRITICIZE ALLEGED WESTERN NONCOMPLIANCE; AND

-- --TO ENHANCE THE LEGITIMACY OF THEIR ARGUMENT FOR
-- COMPARABLE WESTERN MOVES IN BASKET I AND II.
END TEXT.

INGERSOLL

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